586 After they are weaned, the children return to their father, unless the dowry has not been paid in full.

CHAPTER IV. BIRTH AND FILIATION

[843] A pregnant woman continues with her work until the moment of her delivery. A Muhutu woman may even give birth while working 844 in the fields. This must not be considered the result of her hard lot but is due to the influence of tradition. Seeing her relatives and neighbors behaving in this way, she would never imagine that she might remain inactive while awaiting her child's arrival.

[787] When the event is near, the auguries are consulted to find out the most favorable place for the [35] birth. It might take place at the home of the wife's parents.

846 During the week following the birth, the woman rests; her husband surrounds her with attention and sees that she lacks nothing, meat, milk, beer, etc. (guhemba umubyeyi, lit., to reward the mother). In addition, the wife's parents also bring her presents. About 553 the eighth day the mother begins to go out again on condition that the 292 day is an even one (1). For this occasion, she puts on her finest clothes,

[805] [777] [461]

1. The week in Ruanda has four work days and one day of rest. Uneven days are considered ill-omened.

a dress of cowskin (ikanda), or if she is a Mututsi, a leopardskin with which she covers her shoulders. On her head she puts on a kind of crown (urugori) made of sorghum straw (2) which she will proudly wear

2. Among the rich Batutsi, the urugori is trimmed with beads.

from then on, for it is the emblem of a mother's dignity. The young 553 mother places herself near the door of the rugo with her husband. If the child is a boy, the father slips a miniature spear, bow, arrow, and shield between his fingers so that he will be brave. The

000 such provisional unions are unnecessary. Moreover, professional
548 prostitution is for this reason virtually unknown in Urundi (see
575 also p. 218). I do not know whether the Barundi have "women's clubs" with an organization of their own; in any case, there are no special women's houses.

2. Birth, Childhood, Puberty, Death

163 As far as the Bahutu are concerned, the Barundi are a people with a high birthrate. This is less true of the Batussi, probably as a result of the long period of inbreeding. The more
842 children there are in a family, the greater is the work force available to the parents and the better are the prospects of obtaining a good purchase price for the girls who are to be
[832] married. Husband and wife occasionally take aphrodisiacs of herb juices in order to increase fecundity (No. 19, p. 359). As soon as the wife has conceived, the medicine man (umufumu)
● 843 is called. He gives her amulets to protect the embryo from
751 evil spirits. The amulets are worn over the abdomen which is particularly in need of protection. For the same purpose the husband occasionally blows tobacco smoke at his wife.

Whenever the results of conception are to be avoided,
847 either for the convenience of the women or in order to remove the results of illicit intercourse, artificial abortion (kukorora) is induced by intensive massage and by taking certain infusions made of herbs. The use of these methods is a kind of secret science among the women, and the men do not appear to have any knowledge of it. The application of these methods is con-
[673] sidered a criminal offense and is punished [≈110] by the head man or the chief (No. 19, p. 62). On the other hand, in Ussumbwa and Unjamwesi abortion by means of herbal decoctions is extremely widespread. "It is the goal of Barundi couples to
854 have as many children as possible. One frequently sees fathers tending, carrying, and feeding their children in Urundi but
000 never in Ussumbwa or in Unjamwesi. Barrenness (ingumba) is

532 of artistic creativity which is also typical of all their other
776 cultural possessions. The same is also true of most other East Africans. The Barundi represent their imaginary spirits only in their dances (see p. 127). They decorate them with
[781] certain symbolic emblems and pay homage to them, motivated by a mixture of fear and calculation.

Finally, religious concepts and emotions are also re-
784 flected in many "superstitious" customs with which the life of
262 the Barundi abounds. Most of these customs are designed to repel evil spirits. Those which deal with diet, care of the body, etc., frequently seem to the European observer to be hygienic precautions. There are many rules and taboos (umusiro) pertaining to food. As has been mentioned above, all Barundi may eat beef, although it is quite a rare treat for them (p. 46). Only the Batwa eat goat meat; a Muhutu will eat it only in rare cases. Nobody, however, is permitted to eat chicken meat, venison, or the flesh of numerous other animals which for various reasons are considered impure. Also, there are the food taboos on the totem animals of the different clans (p. 103). Few people eat mutton, and only the tribes living on Lake Tanganyika eat fish. Blacksmiths must abstain from eating pork (No. 23, 1914, pp. 111 ff.). Incidentally, no woman
● [843] may watch a blacksmith at work. A pregnant Murundi wife is not permitted to eat meat, beans, sweet potatoes, beer, or salt; she may only eat boiled manioc, hot maize gruel, ripe bananas, and peanuts. However, a pregnant Mutwa woman may eat and drink as usual. Nobody may warm or boil milk
[825] since otherwise the cows would become sick. Likewise, a person who has eaten peanuts or peas may [138] not drink milk on the same day since the cows would become sick. Nobody may eat vegetables and milk at the same time since this would harm the cows which gave the milk. The Banjaruanda, Banjankole, Banjampororó, and Banjoro have the same superstitions (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 514, 534; No. 19, p. 6). In
[765] Urundi, after the father of a family has died, his widow and children do not eat salt until the period of mourning has passed, and they do not cut their hair.

755 tool and leave it at some crossroads. . . .Woe to those, however, who
783 should fail to notice in time the itinerant abode of the evil spirit, ever in search of a new victim. According to popular belief, these sorcerers also have the power of averting the misfortune or punishment that follows the violation, no matter how involuntary, of any taboo, departure from custom, scorn of tradition, or even the appearance of any extraordinary object or event.

845 The birth of a freak child, the excessive growth of a fruit or plant, etc., may be prejudicial to the man who fathered or owns it.

787 Every unwonted event is a revelation to the Blacks. To them
783 nothing is fortuitous, and whatever deviates from the ordinary, no matter how little, is a manifestation of hidden powers. After meeting with such evil portents, the Munyarwanda experiences the need for purification as he would after the violation of a taboo, to avoid the misfortune that would befall him. It is in this sense that they identify unfavorable omens with departure from ancestral custom.

784 Numerous are the prescription and customs whose strictly material infraction involves fearsome consequences, such as a particular disease or even death. Among the interdictions and prohibitions, some apply to everyone, others to one clan or another, to women alone, or merely to the king. Persons who are in mourning or in other special /408/ circumstances must observe numerous taboos and must abstain from a large number of actions. The interdiction frequently bears on an object or animal which must not be touched or eaten, and which must not be looked at.

There are also taboos about days, that is to say, the prohibition to engage in certain occupations on certain days.

843 There are many taboos to which a woman is susceptible during
783 her pregnancy. The sight of a canoe may cause her to give birth to a child whose lips are pointed like the prow of the boat.

If she meets with a killed animal, a dog, a wild boar, an otter, she may give birth to a dead child or one covered with sores like those which she saw on the corpse. The sight of a man who is being put to death or merely bound makes her liable to the same misfortune, and so does the burning of a hut. The sight of a weapon which has been used to kill entails the same consequences.

783 It is easy to see from these cases how frequently people must
843 resort to purification (1).

1. In certain cases, taboo violators need not resort to specialists and may purify themselves by a simple method.

If a pregnant woman has come upon a death weapon, a bound prisoner, a killed snake, or anything else that is taboo, she must immediately procure some of those herbs or leaves with magic properties which are in common usage. She will bring them into contact with the corpse or bond, and then crush them to drink their juice or inhale their aroma. If there are no plants available, she first touches the thing involved in the taboo and then brings her hand to her forehead, where she traces a kind of sign of the cross. This is what Fr. A. Bros called "procedures of imitative magic." Religion des Peuples non civilisés /Religion of Uncivilized Peoples/, p. 72).

783 The rites of purification vary in accordance with the case, the individuals involved, and the sorcerer himself. Almost invariably, however, the latter pours into the person's hand a few drops of a liquid (issubjo) in which he has mixed the juice of certain plants with magic characteristics which have the property of curing all evils. /409/

784 [484] A traveler who stubs his left foot against an obstacle or who meets with a rat whose pelt is slightly mottled (umushushwe) must return home, lest misfortune come to him.

If one finds black ants (intozi) on one's path, he must draw his hand over his foot as though to remove them, lest they swarm into his hut.

[843] A pregnant woman must not see a European nor hear the sound of a gunshot, else the child she bears will suffer (1).

1. In order to neutralize this influence, she need only procure a cartridge case, a piece of paper, or even a piece of tile, brick, or any other object of European origin, and wear it around her neck as an amulet or talisman. The child will be born safe from injury.

[751]

[842] A woman who has borne only sons may not nurse the daughter of another woman, lest she bear nothing but girls from now on.

A man may not meet with his betrothed or with his mother-in-law prior to marriage (2). The king was formerly forbidden to see

[643]

2. Cf. "Cérémonies du mariage /Marriage Ceremonies/," by Fr. Pagès (Anthropos, 1925).

his sons, at least in theory, for it has been proved that the last monarchs often broke this rule.

If the manufacturer of banana wine insults someone while crushing the fruit, he runs the risk of contracting the scurfy disease (guhumana).

A woman must keep silent while kneading sorghum dough. If a dog or chicken dirties the floor of the hut, she is forbidden to leave her work and clean the spot, or the bread may shrink.

If the bottom bananas in a bunch ripen first, the owner of the grove worries because it means that a danger threatens him. /413/

578 851 case the conventional decision is hardly feasible, although the child of a woman who has not been paid for does not, it seems, in principle belong to the clan of its father.

586 562 The state cannot force women who have left their husbands to be brought back, and thus a woman has some personal freedom. Also, although the woman does not have a high social standing, she can exercise considerable pressure by threatening to move away. There are many instances that prove these are not empty threats. In spite of the man's privileged position, the woman is mistress of the hut, even when she is occupying it only temporarily, for she nourishes the household with her work in field and garden.

845 Birth. Although all women have a strong desire for children, they are nevertheless very much afraid of childbirth. In Ruanda the number of difficult confinements is not small. They are supposed to occur particularly in the north, in Mulera and Bugoye. In Mulera mothers not infrequently die in childbirth. I was told of confinements that lasted a week. This fact is probably related to the recent mixture of very different anthropological elements, such as those like the Forest Bantu with those like the Batutsi, which may be observed there.

843 The pregnant woman wears the ibiheko amulet to ensure an easy birth. The amulet consists of two small pieces of wood tied together and is worn on the chest. Often a second one is worn on the back. The amulet is not taken off after the birth, but is worn until the child is two or four years old.

843 578 Pregnant women are given some consideration, even when their husbands beat them in a fit of temper. The husband is careful not to hit the woman on the abdomen and usually boxes her ears. If he reaches for a stick in his rage, he beats her only on the shoulders.

844 [228] A birth usually takes place in the hut, in the section occupied by the women (mbele yinzu), but this is not always the case. A soothsayer must decide the place for a favorable birth. If it is to be outside the hut, a place is chosen near the path. It is neatly covered with grass and the woman, accompanied by a midwife, goes there when her labor pains begin. The midwife is said to limit herself to extracting the child. Delivery takes place

551 are often so long that they can barely be pronounced in one breath, and yet they are always spoken very fast, in one breath, with a singing intonation and with a dance gesture."

842 If a widow gives birth to a child, they say that the child has
843 remained in her blood since the death of her husband and that it
164 has only now come into the world. This belief is related to the idea that pregnancies can last several years, and that idea; in turn, probably comes from the diseases of the genital organs (tumors) that cause enlargement of the abdomen. If [230] a woman can be pregnant for several years, she also can carry the child in her blood for several years.

845 Children are ardently desired and loved. In the southeast, in
847 Kissaka, twins are regarded as a blessing; the mother gets twice as many presents and is called nina babili. However, in the northwest, in the Forest Bantu sphere of influence, this is very different. Here infanticide is not uncommon and is practiced particularly on twins. During my visit in Mulera twins were born near the Ruasa Mission. The missionaries had a hard time preventing the people from killing the children. At first the natives replied to the missionaries' explanations that a woman could not possibly carry two children on her back.

853 Children are nursed for a long time, for three years it seems. One sees cases of children who come to their mothers to suck when they are old enough to run about and even to tend cattle.

[854] Little attention is paid to children. This is evident in the
861 high infant mortality. Even less care is given to the moral education of children. Although they are not thrashed like European children, they sometimes suffer severe punishment, especially for theft. A popular punishment is burning the fingers, which is supposed to bring about inhibitory associations when one reaches for other people's belongings. The hands of the little thieves are bound with blades of grass or scraps of matting, which are lighted, and the fingers are covered with burns (1).

1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 428.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

833 [595] under the man was not usually practised. In the polygynous family the husband had to spend two nights with each wife *seriatim* and to have at least one intercourse.

The Ruanda thought that when the sex activity of an individual had begun, he could legitimately expect an opportunity to enjoy intercourse as frequently as was socially thought normal. Some 864 parents were said to be severe towards sexual play among children. When the latter indulged in imitation of adult relations, in masturbation, and other manipulations, they were beaten and 838 flogged. Others were more permissive.[8] Homosexuality was common among young Tutsi when being trained at court, and was almost exclusively ascribed to the lack of heterosexual contacts.

831 Later in life, sex needs were regarded as requiring satisfaction just as any other natural need. If the husband or wife was not 837 available, it was socially permitted to have another partner 835 (among the privileged ones) even if the absent spouse resented it. The sexual needs of a woman were thought to be more urgent when [843] she was pregnant; intercourse once a week was regarded as a [833] minimum. If her husband was absent, therefore, cohabitation with one of his brothers or parallel cousins was viewed almost with favour. When a husband had been away for a very long time, and if it was not known even if he was still living, though his wife could not obtain a divorce she could cohabit and have children with one of her privileged partners, preferably belonging to her husband's patrilineage. A wife never accompanied her husband on his [593] travels to the court or elsewhere. In such cases the Tutsi took with [484] them a concubine, the daughter of a client for instance.

At the court of the king or of important chiefs, there were a few 548 Tutsi women who were openly servants of the chief or the king (*abaja*). In fact they were courtesans, either the daughters of Tutsi clients of the chief or king, who had been invited by the chief or king to come to the court as servants because of their beauty, or divorced women. They received costly presents and were often well-off, having their own herds of cattle. These presents appear to have been rewards not only for sexual favours but also, and perhaps mainly, for some inside information so useful in that world of intrigue.

831 The preceding paragraphs should not be understood as implying that the Ruanda emphasized exclusively the physical and

[8] Cf. Vincent, 1954, pp. 167-71.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

Women of Burundi: A Study of Social Values

Many children represent happiness for both men and women in Burundi. Women adore babies, and a pregnant Rundikazi is a happy woman. Only very rarely do women go into the bush to look for the medicines that cause miscarriage. (For unwed mothers, the motivation is obviously different). It is not possible to find a Rundikazi, even a great-grandmother, who will admit that she is *umukechuru*, a woman beyond the age of child-bearing. A woman who is sterile, or who has had only one child and never again conceived believes that she has been cursed by her paternal aunt or is the victim of witchcraft. Some women produce Gargantuas, children they have carried for 11 months, or 15 months or even two years. The Rundi are by no means ignorant of the biological cause and signs of pregnancy.[16] They simply refuse to acknowledge any other alternative conditions than pregnancy or nursing mother. It is also not for a lack of knowledge of the biological facts that men have no interest in the biological paternity of their children. If a brother or cousin is the biological father, this is no more than is to be expected. If it is a stranger who has got his wife with child, he has made the husband a free gift. The father does not reproach his wife if she has conceived during one of his long absences from home, nor is he at all prejudiced against those of his children who have been fathered by other men, when the time comes to choose his heritor.[17]

Among the princes and the Tutsi of the very good patrilineages, the mother does not take care of the children except to nurse them. A governess, a woman from a family only slightly lower in the social scale than that of the child, looks after it. At present, the wealthy send their school-age children to European schools far from home. In the past, young adolescents were sent to be brought up by princes and princesses. Among the commoners, an infant is with its mother day and night. He is carried nude on her naked back and nursed at the first whimper. The mother plays with her baby, especially with her son, tickles it everywhere, and talks baby talk to it. She adores her baby, but the moment she finds herself pregnant again, she immediately weans her child. The child, who is probably between 18 and 24 months old, is abruptly separated from his mother. He is handed over to a brother, a sister, a grandmother, to anyone who will have him. Sometimes, the grandmother or a grown-up sister will permit a newly-weaned child to suck at the dry breast, but soon the child is put on the ground to crawl about, to play, and to learn that life is hard. It is not surprising that the mortality rate of newly-weaned children is very high.

If there has been a divorce, the departing wife takes with her